2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

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AN ANGRY BEAR
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and tossed it into the sea. He himself declared that they knocked him down. This was in the year 1890. I suppose it was ignorance of Ainu superstitions which made him persist in his sketching when asked not to do so.

It was an old belief among the Ainu that by sketching or taking their photographs, especially when in a nude condition, their natural life was shortened in some mysterious way. The term they used with reference to it was *Ainu hatu change*, i.e., "The man draws near to his form." This is the same as saying "he is getting near to death," or "he is becoming a ghost." Hence Mr. Landor's bother with them.

The people appeared to see something uncanny in their mere forms being produced on glass or paper without substance. To speak of the form of a person among them is the same as speaking of his soul, spirit or ghost, sometimes, even at the present day.

Dr. B. Douglas Howard, who travelled in Saghalien for a short time, has given us his experiences among the Ainu who dwelt there. In his book entitled "Trans-Siberian Savages," I find two passages which illustrate the point under discussion, though he does not appear to be aware of the reasons for the Ainu aversion to the camera. On page 95 we read that Dr. Howard brought out his hand-mirror for the instruction of the people. He says: "This, to my astonishment, quickly produced exactly the effect my rifle failed to accomplish. As fast as I showed them their faces, they darted like arrows through the doorway, and nothing could induce them to come back. I do not wonder at it," etc.

On page 96 he writes: "In a very quiet way I have taken a good many carefully selected snapshots with my camera, which included the old chief, the wizard and several other portraits. Thinking I would like to add to their pleasure another entirely new surprise and sensation, and also, perhaps, to impress them fur-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

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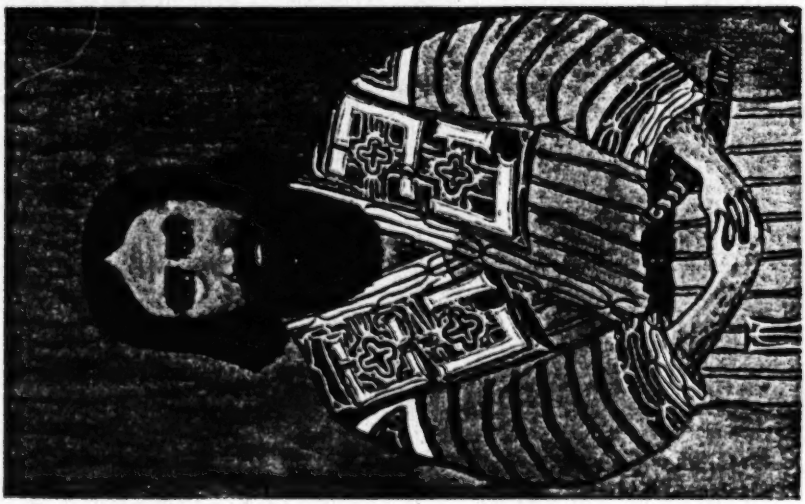
YAI-MAH
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu



KUTRI
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[p. 436(A)

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

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KUTRI AND YAI-MAII COURTING
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[P. 438(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

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THE HOME OF KUTRI AND YAI-MAH
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[R.444]A

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

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HUNTING SCENE, SET-BOW.

[Facing p. 470]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

placed on his head, whilst his better-half helped him on with his regal *imi* (garments), as well as a large sword, which also made part of his regal insignia. The crown had in front a small bear's head roughly carved in wood, and the clothes were very gaudy. They were made of strips of blue, white, and red cloth sewn together. The materials used were Japanese, but they were cut and arranged in a thoroughly Ainu pattern. Though he began well, Benry was not a good sitter, and, like most animals, he did not like to be stared at. He felt the weight of a look, as it were, and it made him uncomfortable. Not many minutes had elapsed before he became openly impatient; he even showed his temper by flinging away his crown and his wooden sword. On the other hand, sketching in Benry's house was no easy matter for me. With all the respect due to the chief of Piratori, I am bound to say that his house was not a model of cleanliness. Those of his hairy brothers and subjects were no better than his, and many were a great deal worse. Fleas and other insects were so numerous that in a few minutes I was literally covered with them, each one of them having a peaceful and hearty meal at my expense, while I, for the sake of art, had to go on with my sketch and leave them undisturbed. Notwithstanding all this Benry was immortalised twice that day, and his maid, housekeeper, or wife —three words which have the same meaning to the Ainu— was also handed down to posterity while in the act of spinning the inner fibre of the *Ulmus campestris* bark, destined to form a new garment for her lord, master, and husband.

When I went out to sketch the houses and storehouses in the village Benry and another man followed me everywhere; but neither he nor his fellow-shadow seemed to take any interest in the sketching. In Japan, Corea, and China I have often been surrounded by hundreds of people attentively watching every stroke of the brush, and I have always found them clever and quick in making out the meaning of each line or brush-mark. I can assert, without fear of being contradicted, that the majority of Japanese, Coreans, and Chinese are even quicker than Europeans in that respect, owing to the fact that lines constitute for them the study of a lifetime. Chinese characters, which are nothing but a deep study of lines, are adopted by the three above-mentioned nations, and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

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AINU KNIFE, WITH ORNAMENTED SHEATH.

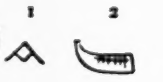
CHAPTER XXI.

Ainu Art, Ainu Marks, Ornamentations, Weapons—Graves and Tattoos.

212 THE expression of ideas by graphic signs is utterly unknown to the Ainu. They have no alphabet, and furthermore, they have no methods whatever of writing. Hence the utter incapacity of the hairy people to record events, time, or circumstances in their history; for even the system of picture-writing is not known to them.

[173] Thus they have neither graven records nor any form of visible history; and tradition transmitted from mouth to mouth is all they have by way of historic continuity. The 422 nearest approach made to graphic signs is in the owner's marks, which we occasionally find on some of their implements. The moustache-lifter is the article on which this mark is most commonly found. What these marks are meant to represent I do not know for certain; but I believe that Fig. 1 is supposed to convey the idea of a house, and Fig. 2 that of a boat; Fig. 3 a bear cage, and 4 the mere result of fancy. Even these marks are only rarely found, and have probably been suggested by Japanese writing.

The illustration shows the four specimens which I found carved on moustache-lifters.

212 

Closely allied with writing is, of course, map-drawing and ornamentations. Map drawing can be dismissed at once, like that famous chapter on snakes in Iceland, as the Ainu know nothing of it.

● 532 Rough ornamentations on bone and wooden implements are their only artistic efforts. Truthful representations of

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

figures and animals are seldom attempted,[1] but conventionalised symbols, suggested by and based on certain forms of animal or vegetable life, are occasionally used for ornamentation.

The Ainu have no rock-sculptures, and can neither paint nor draw in any form; what they have are mere simple wood-carvings. But only a few have any aptitude for even this crude work, though of course they are not all alike. As with us we have people who are artistic and people who are Philistine, so with the Ainu, in that very humble degree which is to Western art what an acorn is to an oak.

Like all early work, Ainu art—if we may call it so—aims at a certain uniformity, especially in leaf-portraiture, so as to produce a somewhat symmetrical pattern; for at all times geometry has been the mother of design.

An Ainu does not go for his models direct to Nature, neither does he servilely copy his neighbour's work; but he gets his ideas indirectly from both these sources, and through inability to copy accurately, negligence in close study, and some amount of native imagination combined, varies the design which he has seen to such an extent as to make it in a sense original. The talent shown by different men in the art of carving varies considerably, even in men of the same tribe; while certain tribes show both aptitude and fondness for these ornamentations, whereas others have little of either.

It is the Ainu of the upper Ishikari River who chiefly excel in these carved ornamentations. The knife represented in the illustration comes from Kamikawa, and was carved with the point of a knife by the chief of the Ainu there. It took the man many months to accomplish, and it is by far the best specimen of Ainu workmanship that I saw in Yezo, though the ornamentations on it are not purely Ainu in character.

This man was a genius as compared to other Ainu, and his ideas of form and precision were considerably more developed than in most of his race. He has ornamented the sheath with conventionalised symbols, which were apparently suggested to him by leaves and branches of trees; and the suggestion of a flower can be noticed in the upper part of the handle. A

[1] The only attempt at animal representation is the small bear-head in chiefs' crowns.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

532 412 suggestion of fish-scales has been used by him to fill up small A open spaces; others he filled up with parallel lines. The sheath is made of two parts, to allow the carver to cut the space for the blade inside; but these two parts are well fitted together, and kept fast by six rings of neatly-cut bark fastened on while fresh, so that by shrinking the two sides of the sheath are brought close together, and are as if made of one single piece.

532 413 157

SIDE VIEW.

The side view of the same knife shows the clever contrivance for fastening it on to the girdle without removing the latter from around the body. This knife may be ranked among the *chefs d'œuvre* of Ainu art.

The principal characteristics of the more usual ornamentations are interesting to study.

Art of course is only the personification, so to speak, the expression of the mind, character, and knowledge of the artist; thus, in Ainu ornamentations we have patterns which could be nothing but Ainu, taken collectively, yet which show distinctly the temperament of each individual. For instance, taking

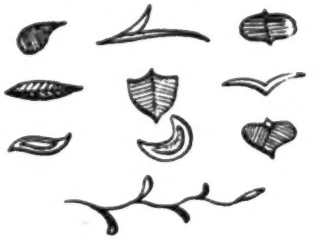
KIKE-USH-BASHUI, OR MOUSTACHE-LIFTERS.

the moustache-lifters (Figs. 1, 2, 4 in the illustration). Fig. 1, with its roundish, undecided, lines, was carved by

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a man weak in physique and *morale*; Fig. 2, which is much simpler and with more decided lines, was the work of a quiet but strong and proud man; and Fig. 4, with its coarse incisions, was the outcome of a brutal mind.

Ainu designs, though slightly varied by each individual, are principally formed of simple geometrical patterns; then of coils and scrolls; and, rarest of all, because the highest attainment of all, of conventionalised representations of animal or vegetable forms. Of the representations from animal forms the fish-scale is the only one adopted by the Ainu, but suggestions of leaves may not infrequently be found in these designs. Some of these are long and narrow; others are short and stumpy.



SUGGESTIONS OF LEAVES.

The above are, to my mind, the models which the Ainu have chiefly taken for their leaf patterns, following nature at a long distance indeed!

Beside these, and much more common, are the rope-pattern and the simple bands. Often the rope-pattern has bands above and below, especially in drinking vessels.

ROPE-PATTERN AND SIMPLE BANDS.

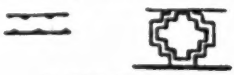
Triangles filled with lines parallel to one of the sides are frequently met with in moustache-lifters, and occasionally the annexed patterns are found: but as a rule the Ainu are not fond of merely straight single lines except for "filling" purposes. These patterns are mostly used on their graves. In articles of every-day use they prefer curves as a foundation of their ornamentations. The lozenge pattern, especially one lozenge inside the other, is a favourite among their geometrical designs; also contiguous and detached circles, chevrons, double chevrons, and triple chevrons. The chevrons are mainly used by them on their graves, and they are invariably enclosed between two or four lines.

TRIANGLES.

CHEVRONS.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

531 The two following patterns are elaborations of the foregoing, but are much more uncommon.



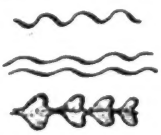
ELABORATIONS OF CHEVRONS.

The parallel incised lines and parallel lines crossing each other at right angles are met with again and again in Ainu patterns. More common still is the occurrence of a number of parallel lines meeting perpendicularly another lot of parallel lines without crossing them.

Parallel lines have a fascination for the Ainu, as we find them in most of their designs.

A COMMON PATTERN.

Concentric circles are not often met with, neither is the plain or loop coil often found, owing to the difficulty of execution; but the wave pattern and double wave are typical Ainu patterns; also the reversed wave.

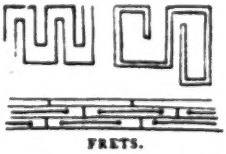


WAVE PATTERNS.

From these may have been derived the other two, the last of which is a mere double reversed coil.

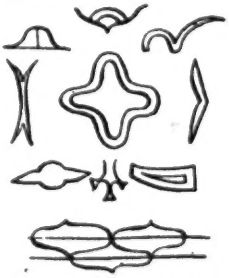
REVERSED COIL.

Triangular marks are occasionally "put in" by the Ainu in some of their more complicated designs, and finally we find that, though rarely, they sometimes attempt a kind of fret.



FRETS.

Other strange forms of lines which are thoroughly characteristic of the Ainu are the following.



OTHER CHARACTERISTIC DESIGNS.

I never came across any Ainu wood-carvings that were coloured, but in bone-carvings—which, I must add, are very rare—black is used to assist shade, and bring out the higher lights by contrast. The Ainu have no idea of tones, semi-tones, or gradations; the contrast is merely between the strong black and strong white. Enamelling is not known by them.

531 The objects which bear these incised ornamentations,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

by the mourners, are broken before they are laid in the grave with the corpse; a few boards are then placed over the body, and earth is thrown over these till the ground is level again.

The grave is generally so shallow that the body is only a few inches underground—sometimes not more than four inches. The body lies flat on its back. Close to its head is erected a monument. For men it is the trunk of a tree, about six feet in length, from which the bark has been peeled off, and whereon certain ornamentations are cut. A short branch is left on one side. The top of the tree-trunk and the end of the branch are cut either in the shape of a lozenge, a hexagon, or a semicircle; and a hole is made through it. At the branch end, the cloth-earrings or the head-gear of the deceased are hung and left to decay.

Women have simpler graves; they are flat instead of round, and are cut into the shape of a canoe-paddle. The chief of a village has a more elaborate tomb than others if he has been liked by the villagers. At Raishats, on the Ishikari River, I saw a really imposing monument put over the grave of the chief who had recently died. It was of very large size, and well carved—in the same patterns as those shown in the illustration. Its chief peculiarity was that the body, instead of being covered by earth, was covered by what appeared to be a canoe or "dug-out" turned upside down, the bottom of which had been laboriously carved. On each of the two sides, at the head and foot of the grave, was stuck into the ground a wooden blade twenty-one inches in length, resembling in shape the blade of a sword. Each of these four blades was carved alike, and had a strange design resembling the number 88. Whether a meaning is attached by the Ainu to this design I cannot say, and the curious circumstance, as my readers will remember, through which I came into possession of one of these blades, did not permit me to ask many questions on the subject. I often wondered whether it meant that life begins, goes its way round, and ends where it began? It is more likely, though, that no meaning whatever is attached to those lines, for such

WOODEN BLADE.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

deep thoughts would hardly harmonise with the Ainu philosophy—such as it is. The Ainu do not stop to mourn or pray or trouble themselves about a grave when the body is once buried. Those who have touched the body wash their hands in a tub of water which has been brought for the purpose; afterwards the water is thrown over the grave and the tub is smashed. The Ainu seldom visit their graveyards except when some one has to be buried. They hate their dead to be disturbed, and nothing makes them more angry than to know that a stranger has been near their burial-ground. When a man is dead they try to forget all about him and his doings, in which they generally succeed to perfection. This naturally is not conducive to anything like continuity in the history of the country, and may partly account for their having none. Moreover, none of the tombs bear the name or the mark of the person to whom it was erected. Tombs of children are of similar shape to those of adults, only smaller in size. When carrying the dead—or, as we should say, going to a funeral—the Ainu put on their best clothes, and when the burial is over they all get helplessly drunk to make up for the loss of the departed friend.

To leave this somewhat grim subject and to return to every-day art, it may be well to mention that the designs for embroideries differ in no way from the wood-carvings. They are often more accurately finished, owing to the greater facility of materials, but the lines and all the characteristics of the patterns are the same. In the tattoos the lozenge pattern and bands are the two more commonly used. The Egyptian cross is sometimes met with (☓), and also a kind of reversed *fylfot*, or *swastika*. Moreover, the St. Andrew's cross with an additional line is not uncommon (XI). In the present volume this is all I have to say on Ainu art. I may, however, add that their ornamentations could not be more primitive, but their frequency on weapons, clothing, implements, and graves shows us that art, though not understood by the Ainu, has a certain fascination, which, in their ignorance, they cannot explain. They know art without knowing what art means. Certain lines and simple designs which are familiar to them appeal to their taste, else they would not ornament all their articles with them. But this does not show any great intel-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

lectual activity, for beyond that point the Ainu brain cannot go. As art in its natural state is merely the pictorial outcome of what the brain has grasped, we have in these crude beginnings another strong proof that the brain-power of the Ainu is indeed very limited, and their inability to represent animal form seems extraordinary in view of what other savages have done; but of course superstition may have something to say to the omission. The Ainu rank very low in the scale of civilisation; they are probably below the Australian blacks and the tree-dwellers of India, who are supposed to be among the lowest races in creation. The Terra del Fuegians and certain African tribes run them hard; but, taken all in all, the Ainu are the furthest behind in the great race of human development.

AN AINU PIPE.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB 6

1898 322 [412] is left on, with the exception of the middle portion in front (Fig. 1). The mechanical devices of the work are most primitive. The tool is an ordinary short knife with blade somewhat curved, which the worker draws quickly towards himself along the piece of wood, holding one end of it with his hand, and pressing the other to his chest.

1898 532 A slight examination of an *inau-stick* will show that it exhibits a primitive representation of a *human figure*. Its upper part is always made in the shape of a little head. The middle part commonly contains *notches*, always arranged in a certain order and definite number, according to the shape and designation of the inau: thus, in Plate XXXIV, Figs. 3, 4, there are three notches, one a little above the middle planed part, the other two always below it; in Fig. 2 there are four notches in succession; on others there are seven, and even more. On some sticks there are left on both sides, symmetrically situated, knots in the shape of arms, which are most frequently curved into a circle, — the fire-inau, the sun-inau (Fig. 3). Indeed, the Ainu themselves distinguish in the inau parts of a body, — the head, crown, neck, hair, brows, eyes, mouth, lips (or mouth alone), navel, and sexual organs (the last six, all in the form of notches), and, finally, hands and feet (the lower part).

On some, the so-called *nin'kari inau* (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3), are found even ear-rings (*nin'kari*) of shavings. This denotes a female form. On Plate XXXV, Fig. 1, may be seen two figures on one knot, — one, a female, with ear-rings; the other, a male, without them.

But the inau-stick is only one form of inau. All external inau — the so-called *soyta-inau*, that is, placed outside of the house — are usually in the form of tall poles, or even whole trees, sometimes stripped of their bark, and again with the bark on, but with notches, and always cut to shavings, or bound with shavings. These often present very complicated figures. For example, the *chup-kamui inau*, the inau to the "master" of the sun, represents a complete little fir-tree in its bark, with arms curved into a circle (symbol of the sun) in the middle, with the three ordinary notches (mouth, navel, and sexual organs) in the middle section, two pairs of oblique incisions on both

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 ABG Ainu ABG

778 sides of the arms, seven spiral cuts in the bark, along the stem,
532 and a superposed head-piece in shavings with seven braided tresses on the crown. Compare Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3, which represents a simplified type of this inau for the fireside.

Inau-sticks are often mere miniatures of these large inau-trees, which cannot be used everywhere with equal ease, on account of their size and cumbersomeness.

778 Further, there are to be distinguished individual and group inau. The latter are called *nusa* (a Japanese term), or *inau-chipa;* and, according to the purpose for which they are designed, they consist of one or another number of figures, — now of husband and wife, now of a whole family, and again of master and assistants. A whole forest of such group inau is arranged in a semicircle on the arena on the occasion of a bear festival.

789 The appellation "inau" is not confined to the figured
778 sticks, — poles and trees cut into shavings in a certain manner, — but is applied as well to the very shavings (though, without the stem, they represent no figure), and even to articles made of shavings, provided they bear upon the cult. Thus, the shavings with which the Ainu are wont to tie their heads at
[301] solemn banquets bear the same name, which is also given to
[796] ornaments woven of shavings put on the bear's head during the bear festival (Plate XXXV, Fig. 2), and to a whole line of all possible kinds of medicinal frontlets and fillets made of shavings (Figs. 4 and 5). Some of these last are made of common fabrics throughout, but are trimmed with cords twisted of finely cut shavings; and therefore they, too, are characterized as "inau." It is sufficiently manifest from this that *shavings are the most essential attribute of inau,* and it is particularly necessary that this should be borne in mind in order to clearly understand the meaning of this peculiar form of cult.

778 The inau play an enormous part in the Ainu's life. All his
771 surroundings, all his environments, his whole field of activity,
782 is filled with inau. Enter his house. On the fireplace is set up an *unti-inau,* inau to the "mistress" of the fire (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3); in the corner there is a fringed *tisse-kamui inau,* inau to the "master" of the house, the ancestor; to the fender of the

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

in them "mere offerings," and again "genuine fetiches."[1] Mrs. BIRD, who has travelled among the Ainu, considers the inau to be domestic deities.

An entirely peculiar opinion is held by the Russian observer, Dr. M. M. DOBROTVORSKI, who lived among the Ainu on Saghalin in the seventies, and wrote a dictionary of the Ainu language. He maintains that the inau are but effigies, *substitutes for human sacrifices*, which, according to the Ainu themselves, were once performed, and are even now in use among some of their tribesmen.[2]

This hypothesis contradicts the facts. In the first place, it must be pointed out that on a whole line of inau — as, for example, on Plate XXXIV, Fig. 1 — there are no notches at all. Further, a whole line of inau consists of shavings alone, without a suggestion of human figures. On many which have notches, as on Fig. 2, these notches, as stated by the Ainu, denote parts of the face, — the eyebrows, eyes, mouth, and nose. But even in the case of such figures as those seen on Plate XXXIV, Figs. 3 and 4, where the middle portion stripped of bark might be interpreted as the abdomen, the notches happen to be just above and below that part, and cannot, at any rate, represent the cutting-open of the belly. In reality, on these figures, the upper notch denotes the mouth; the two lower, the navel and sexual organs. On some inau the middle, planed part is even pointed out by the Ainu as the face. Thus Dobrotvorski's hypothesis falls *per se*.

[1] [This was formerly the opinion of Batchelor, which, however, he has given up and partly revised in his new book The Ainu and Their Folklore (London, 1901, pp. 96 et seq., pp. 110 et seq.); compare also the critical remarks on the subject by Cl. E. MAITRE (Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. II, p. 216; Vol. III, p. 126). Batchelor is now also of the same opinion as the author of this paper, that there are inau acting as "mediators or messengers, whose spirits pass between men and the various deities." The fact that these two authors were independently led to this result seems to me a very remarkable coincidence; but there can be no doubt that Dr. Sternberg went far beyond Batchelor in the elucidation of the question. — EDITOR.]

[2] Aino-Russian Dictionary, Supplement, p. 65; also Introduction, p. 42. Kasan, 1875.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 196 174 [193] ("sacrifice"),—and the word *nau*, consisting of *ni* ("tree") and *ay* ("tongue"). Thus *inau* signifies literally "a tree's tongue."

778 191 Again, this peculiar idea of *tongues* of a tree-orator presents nothing exceptional in comparative ethnography. Ideas almost identical are to be found in most diverse parts of the earth and among most diverse peoples of those parts, on the subject, for example, of *fire* in connection with the noisy *many-tonguedness* of its flame.

778 To sum up, inau are "shaved" trees and pieces of wood, commonly in the shape of human figures, which act as men's intercessors before deities. Their power lies in their numerous *tongues* (shavings), which increase the suasive power of their eloquence to an extraordinary degree. Their present-day variety of form and destination is the result of a long evolution. In the beginning, a bunch of shavings issuing from a single short stem, after the manner of a stick shaved for kindling a fire, was probably all-sufficient.

In the course of time the Ainu began to pay more attention [532] to the stem proper (body of the mediator), began to endow it with notches, a little head-piece, hands, arms, and to arrange the shavings (as a sort of supplement to the figures) in the form of hair, braids, vegetation on the body, and so forth. On the other hand, the shavings in themselves, apart from the stem, attained an independent development and most varied application.

At first mere "tongues" before the gods, the inau, owing to the importance of their rôle, the habit of looking upon them as a cult-object indispensable in all cases, have acquired to some degree an *independent* importance of sacredness and divinity. To them independent wonder-working power began to be attributed. Hence inau began to be looked upon, not only as intercessors before gods, but even as objects agreeable and useful to the gods themselves. Thus the "shaved" trees in front [782] of the arena at the bear festival are destined partly to the Bear himself and partly to his mother, evidently as simple amulets for these divine beings. Gods, just as much as men, are in [171] need of them. Thus the Orok, for example, the neighbors of

5:Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 [191] the Ainu, when making a medicinal effigy of a tiger-man, fasten on its breast an exact miniature reproduction of it, which is to serve as an amulet for the deity itself.

778 765 789 On the other hand, inau become the customary amulets for men also. They began to be applied first in cases of sickness. The diseased parts of the body, particularly the head, came to be bound with shavings. The stem, in such cases, as preventing their application, was cast away. This mode of healing created a whole pharmacology of bandages, frontlets, belts, in which the shavings appear in the shape of the most diverse plaitings (cords, circlets, etc.) in conjunction with various other amulets, like glass beads, wooden images of various organs of the body, etc. (see Plate XXXIV, Fig. 5; Plate XXXV, Figs. 3 and 5). To strengthen their effect, the shaving-plaitings receive, moreover, the form of various magic figures, as circles [532] (symbol of the sun), and similar magic symbols. Another step, and the medicinal bandages, with their artful plaitings of [291] [301] shavings, entered the every-day sphere of dress and ornaments.

796 825 291 301 789 It is instructive to trace this development in the ceremonial of attiring the bear at the festival. Primarily they adorned the slain bear with shavings alone as the necessary amulets for the slain animal, just as the Gilyak, in such cases, attach to the bear an image of a toad, their mightiest amulet. The heads of killed seals, even nowadays, before being cast into the sea, are tied over with mere shavings. But at present the modest shavings on the bear's head have turned into a whole complex of head-gear, frontlets, ear-caps, ear-rings, etc., daintily plaited of shavings (see Plate XXXV, Figs. 2, 6).

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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III

THE INAU

774 824 778 RAMAT is to be regarded as power or purposive ability. Whether generalized as active or quiescent power or regarded as the attribute of an individual spirit, it is always credited with some degree of conation. This may be equal to that of man but is less in animals and plants. Even moulds and lichens possess a small quantity of *ramat*. Wood is specially credited with [776] *ramat* from the great soul or spirit of Shiramba Kamui. To the Ainu nothing is more effective for protection against evil and the promotion of welfare than living wood. Hence the importance of [782] the *inau* with their beautiful curls shaven from living wood. When they take shape at the touch of a knife in an expert hand they seem instinct with life.

774 782 778 *Ramat* is embodied in the various types of *inau* appropriate to each of the high *kamui*, who are invoked and given service at all ritual celebrations. These have mostly come under my direct observation and study, and those I describe may, I think, be accepted as representative. Should it be thought that I give too many details, I must plead that I have tried to record material which if not now recorded will be lost, as it is rapidly vanishing.

778 782 *Inau* have been described as whittled sticks, but they are very much more. They are mostly solid stems of wood which, according to thickness, resemble batons or wands. Early in this century I [532] came across positive evidence that many *inau* are stylized effigies of human beings and that they originated as receptacles for ancestral *ramat*. Whether they were ever substitutes for human sacrifice is an open question, but I am disposed to think that some are, at

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
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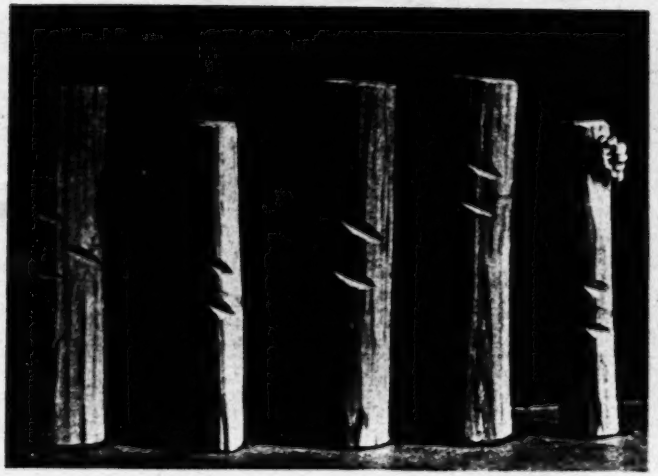

6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11.

Fig. 5. Chup Kamui (sun deity). Fig. 4. Kanna Kamui (thunder deity). Fig. 3. Shiri-koro Kamui. Fig. 2. Chep-atte Kamui (plenteous fish). Fig. 1. Yuk-atte Kamui (plenteous deer). Fig. 10. Ainu Sachiri Kamui (the spotted kingfisher). Fig. 9. Wakka-ush Kamui (water deity). Fig. 8. A-e-oina Kamui. Fig. 7. Abera-ra-Shut Kamui (ancestral *kamui* beneath the hearth). Fig. 6. Moshiri-kara Kamui. Fig. 11. Methods of tying the shavings on *inau* according to ancestral cult.

PLATE V *ITOKPA.*

[p. 30, (E)]

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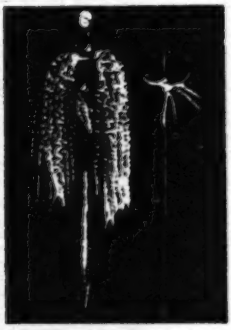

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Fig. 1. The body of Chisei-koro Kamui. The heart is tied on with shavings: the flattened side of the body represents the abdomen. Fig. 2. Chisei-koro Kamui, fully dressed, with his spear. Fig. 3. Shutu *inaw* Kamui for three brothers who protect vigour and welfare. Fig. 4. Chikube-ni Kamui with spear, protector of the young bear until the time of its ritual dismissal. Fig. 5. Soko-ni Fuchi with spear, for help in difficult childbirth. Fig. 6. Ai-ush-ni Kamui. Fig. 7. Imosh Kamui, made by Uesanash Ekashi.

PLATE VII. EFFIGIES.

[p. 30, (G)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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Fig. 1. Uesanash giving ritual dismissal to Imosh Kamui.
Fig. 2. Rennuikesh Ekashi giving ritual dismissal to Penup Kamui.
Fig. 3. Imosh Kamui dismantled at the *nusa* erected for him with the *inau* appropriate to the highest *kamui*.
Fig. 4. Penup Kamui.

PLATE VIII. DANGEROUS KAMUI.

[p. 30, (H)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and are therefore referred to in this book as winged *inau*.[1] They are mobilized for grave emergencies, such as the outbreak of an epidemic. With a few exceptions they are bevelled at the top to represent a face, which is provided with a slit for a mouth. For good spirits this slants across the face at an angle which facilitates the insertion of a single curled shaving (Pl. II, fig. 1). In the south good winged *inau* have nine wings and in the north six or occasionally seven.

There are two sizes of winged *inau*, small (*pon*) and thick (*rutwe*). The former are most often employed, being set up for four important *kamui* mentioned in the last chapter, Nusa-koro, Shiramba, Hash-inau-uk and Wakka-ush *Kamui*. Four are allotted to each, together with other *inau* of less constant significance. The thick winged *inau* differ only in the thickness of the stem from the foregoing. When the sacred brew was made, one was set up for Shiramba Kamui at the soul *nusa*, together with four of the small ones. Four were set up at the place reserved for the ancestral spirits of the bear. The bear is known as Kim-un Kamui, the God in the Mountains, but in this ceremony is addressed as Metot-ush Kamui, the God Dwelling in Mountain Ranges.[2] At the great Bear Festival,

[1] The translation of *shutu* is uncertain. Munro states that it means ancestor, root or foundation, and this is confirmed by Arthur Waley. Batchelor translates it as war-club, and Mr Watanabe gives the same meaning. But the *shutu inau* are not shaped as war-clubs, and Munro says that the Ainu do not associate them with war-clubs. Some *shutu inau* are associated with the ancestors. Because the *shutu inau* have wings (*rap*) they have been called winged *inau* in this book. The difference between *shutu inau* and *shutu inau kamui* is not quite clear. In this chapter Munro refers to Chisei-Koro Kamui as a *shutu inau* but later (Chapter IV) this figure is described as the most important of all the 'hand-made *kamui*' (*teh-e-kara*). Except Chisei-koro Kamui all *shutu inau kamui* also have wings. In old tradition he is said to rank with Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui. His high position is borne out by his importance in the rites to be described later. It is quite possible the Ainu themselves were vague about these categories of *inau* although their names, method of construction, functions and ritual use may have been quite clear to all practising elders.

The *inau*, whether winged or not, are offerings to the *kamui*. In the rituals described, the *shutu inau kamui* themselves receive prayers, libations and ritual dismissal with *inau*, hence they are treated as *kamui*, not as *inau*. It should be noted that Munro states that Chisei-koro Kamui represents Shiramba Kamui in the house. So it would not be strange if sometimes he is regarded as a *shutu inau* given to Shiramba Kamui and sometimes as an auxiliary *kamui* in his own right, even as a *pase kamui* in some districts, as Munro states (see Chapter VI). —B.Z.S.

[2] Kim-un Kamui is the spirit of an individual bear, and every bear was believed to be Kim-un Kamui materialized in the form of skin and meat to be

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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which includes the ritual killing called 'ritual dismissal' (Kamui Iomande), after the ceremonial slaying of the young bear there are, in addition to the four *inau* mentioned, four variants of the same offered in the Nibutani district, and the skull is (or was) permanently stuck up. Two of the *inau* differ in that they are adorned with evergreen bamboo grass, or twigs of a species of fir (*Abies Sachalinensis*, Ainu, *hup-ni*, Pl. II, fig. 2), Shirikura inau. The other two, similarly decorated, have a special *inau* fixed to the top.

An interesting object, known as the *inumba* (beer-straining) *inau*, is seen in Pl. II, fig. 3. There are the usual nine wings but instead of a bevelled face there is a cup-like cavity in the top. It is made of willow.

Wen (evil) *inau*, so called because their task is to repel or expel evil spirits responsible for sickness or ill luck, are also called *nitue* (hard) *inau*, because they deal with *nitue kamui*, each of whom is regarded as a 'hard case'. They are of *shutu* form but shorter, about eight inches high, and have a vertical slit for a mouth, no cloak of curled shavings and only four wings. They are grouped in multiples of three, the Ainu 'perfect number'. When a female medium (*tusu*) has diagnosed an evil spirit as responsible for a severe illness, eighteen of them are employed. Plate II, fig. 4, shows a group with a taller one at the chief (*sepane guru*). Here he has a flat head like some effigies of *kamui*, and a headdress and belt of curled shavings. Some elders provide him with a sword, and he may have a face or merely a black rag tied round the head.

The trees from which the *inau* for evil spirits are made are credited with special magical power. One is the thorn or arrow-bearing tree, *Acanthopanax ricinifolium*[1] (*ai-ush-ni*). Those most commonly used are the elder, and alder, the species being the Sambucus latipinna (*soko-ni*) and Alnus hirsuta (*kene-ni*). The Ainu used to regard them as natural enemies of evil spirits. The elder is sometimes called in prayer Moshiri Kiyanne Kamui, Spirit Elder of the World.

In this connection the use by Japanese farmers of an *inau* made from elder is worthy of note. Plate II, fig. 8, comes from a village somewhere between Tokyo and Yokohama where in the first decade of this century I did some archaeological excavations. Farmers

given to the Ainu. Metot-ush Kamui was believed to be a deity who lived at the top of a high mountain and was the head of all Kim-un Kamui.—H.W.

[1] See footnote, p. 30.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook (*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value.

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for a festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*) the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations involving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are regarded as potent amulets for personal protection.

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged parturition.

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round the victim's head.

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*)[1] is then incised on the outspread shaven *inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and two on the two twisted shaven *inau* described above as affixed to the *shirikura inau* (Pl. II, fig. 2). Two more of the same kind are placed where the head of the bear is displayed.

In Kitami province, however, many *inau* bear signs cut on the stems indicating the kinds of *kamui* to which they are dedicated.[2] Rennuikesh, a native of the north, says that these are seals of truth for *shian inau*. Rennuikesh made for me examples representing the upper parts of various *inau*, and in them we see what might have been the beginning of writing. In Pl. V, fig. 5, we have Chup Kamui (*chu-pa*, shining thing) which stands for both sun and moon, though the sun is more in mind. Pl. V, fig. 4, represents Kanna Kamui. Another figure which may perhaps represent a tree (Pl. V, fig. 3) is for Shiri-koro Kamui (Shiramba Kamui). Deer horns signify Yuk-atte Kamui (Pl. V, fig. 1), who is besought for the increase of deer, and a fish (Pl. V, fig. 2) signifies Chep-atte Kamui, believed to promote abundance of fish. The little bunch of shavings on the winged *inau*, representing a wing (Pl. V, fig. 10), is the symbol of Ainu Satchiri Kamui, the spotted kingfisher, protector of rivers and their produce. *Itokpa* for Wakka-ush Kamui is shown on Pl. V, fig. 9; for Aoina Kamui on fig. 8; fig. 7 is for Abera-ra-shut, a *kamui* dwelling below the hearth; fig. 6 is the *itokpa* for Moshiri-kara Kamui.

Accompanying these probably decipherable signs are others of more enigmatic character. One nearly always present is a line running obliquely between two short and deep cuts, and slightly curved on the contour of the staff. Rennuikesh called it *chishitu konuye*, which might mean 'winding between mountain crests'. During my short trip in the north I met no elder who claimed to know its significance, yet several claimed it as a special sign of their own village. Other marks on these northern *inau* are, it has been suggested, representations of the footprints of bears, but I do not

[1] *Ekashi itokpa*, the male ancestral mark, is incised on objects of three kinds: the *kamui-nomi inau*, the *inau* used in the worship of *kamui*; the *kike-ush bashui*, a sacred wand with *kike* (shavings); the *hepere ai*, the arrow used to shoot the bear cub in the bear ceremony (Natori, *The Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo 1945), and, in some districts, on the arrows for bear hunting. In Chitose and Hilaka districts it was only used on the *kike-ush bashui* (Natori, *Journal of Anthropological Society of Japan*, Vol. 55, No. 5).—H.W.

[2] These are called *kamui-itokpa*, and are incised on certain *inau* with *ekashi-itokpa* as well.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1906-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

know enough to hazard an opinion on this subject. I know, however, that in certain village communities (*kotan*) they are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent. Uesanash Ekashi, a reliable informant, tells me that the mode of tying *inau* to their stem (Pl. V, fig. 11) is a sign specific to certain male lines or descent.

Another class of objects which are believed to carry *ramat* calls for notice. I cannot say who first named them moustache-lifters, but it was one of those guesses, based on imperfect acquaintance, frequently repeated in popular writings. These are flattened wands about a foot long, usually decorated on one side and pointed at one end (Pl. VI, fig. 1). When laid horizontally over the drinking-cup (*tuki*), their proper resting position, and when the cup is held in the left hand and the wand in the right, it is sometimes used to keep the moustache out of the liquor. But that is far from being its real function.

In recent times they have become generally known as drinking-sticks (*ikubashui*), but they are really prayer-sticks, as I discovered many years ago. Sometimes they are used as libation-wands, as will be described later. When examining a collection of about forty specimens I noticed that nearly all had a mark like an arrowhead on the under surface of the pointed end. This indicated direction, and it is known to most elders as the tongue (*parumbe*). In the Ishikari region it is on the upper surface. When it is absent the pointed end of the stick perhaps represents the tongue. Certain lines and patterns at one or both ends may be degenerate eye motifs. A recent specimen, with its partly modern style of decoration, seems to show a revival of the eye motif on the misunderstanding that each line represented an eye.

At the Bear Festival the winged prayer-stick of willow (*kike-ush bashui*, Pl. VI, figs. 2 and 3) is tied to the great *inau* of Hash-inau-uk Kamui and remains there. Another is given to the head of the bear when it is erected with many *inau*, but this one is taken back to the house.

All elders consider the prayer-stick as a sacred object, a messenger of prayer to, and especially from, Kamui Fuchi, and firmly believe that it carries *ramat* in an exceptional degree, while some regard it as ranking with the auxiliary *kamui*. At the same time it is a libation-wand, and with it drops of the sacred brew were formerly transmitted to the *kamui* and the *inau* dedicated to them.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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778 It has played a part, if a small one, in the alcoholism of the present-
782 day Ainu, elders now affecting to believe that they can win the approval of the *Kamui* by offering a few drops of raw *shochu*. The function of the sticks as libation-wands was secondary to that of
[201] pointing, as a speaker may do with the forefinger, and of transmitting messages from Kamui Fuchi. In prayer an elder may say that his language is faulty, but that the prayer-stick will convey his meaning correctly.

778 There are two kinds of mark on the prayer-sticks. Those on the
212 underside are found on most household specimens and are the
● 532 owner's marks (*shirosh*); those on the upper side are patrilineal ancestral signs (*ekashi itokpa*) and are regarded with respect and awe (*oripak*). Though not as sacred as the women's secret girdles, the attitude of men towards them is somewhat similar to that of women to their girdles. I was told by Nisukrek-guru that whatever the number of ordinary prayer-sticks in the house, only one had the ancestral sign. This was taken on hunting expeditions, partly for protection and partly for identification in the event of death. A stick bearing the same sign and known as the *pushka-un-ni* was firmly tied to the quiver, but was not a prayer-stick.

[782] These ancestral signs are also cut on the upper side of the special prayer-sticks, *kike-ush-hashui* (Pl. VI, figs. 2 and 3), offered to Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and temporarily presented to the head of
[796] the bear before its ritual dismissal. The shavings left attached to these sticks, which are freshly made of willow, are wings (*rap*) to waft prayers to the *kamui*. Bear festivals were given by the owner of the young bear, which had been captured as a cub. The host's ancestral sign was presented to the bear spirit and its ancestors in order that it might be glad to return to life for another such feast. It identified the lineal descendant (whose ancestors had given many such communal feasts), and who looked forward to many more.

In Kitami province *inau* may bear the signs of various deities. The blind elder from whom I obtained the interesting specimen shown in Pl. VI, fig. 4, told me that it was the sign of Rep-un
[184] Kamui, and he called it *asupe noka*. This sign is found on other northern *inau*. I have not found any instance, in the south, of a *kamui itokpa* on either *inau* or prayer-stick.[1]

[1] It will be noted that this sign is not similar to that on Pl. IX, fig. 6. However, Munro also photographed the *itokpa* on the reverse side of these *inau* stems, but unfortunately, the prints are not clear enough to identify the signs.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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IV

EFFIGIES

778 [774] [789] [782] IN the preceding chapter we described the objects called *inau*, by means of which *ramat* is retained in more or less concentrated form, which are regarded as affording protection against evil spirits and which serve as offerings to all helpful *kamui* and messengers to important ones.

[755] The faith formerly reposed in the *inau* was not without benefit. Hope was sustained in times of trouble and danger, and sickness was alleviated and even cured. This faith has not entirely ceased [182] to exist. Where, as at Nibutani, the Ainu still retain some of their communal solidarity, many adhere to their ancient creed and its methods of defence against evil spirits.

778 776 ● 532 [774] We have now to consider the methods of promoting some *inau* to the rank of *kamui*, in which *ramat* is so concentrated that it acts dynamically, though always with the approval and usually under the command of the higher *kamui*. Although we shall meet with a few effigies in other than *inau* shape it is significant that most of the hand-made representations of *kamui* closely resemble the winged *inau*. This fact is consonant with their interpretation as effigies reduced to little more than emblems.

These objects are sometimes called 'hand-made' (*tek-e-kara*) *kamui*, but should not be referred to in this way. The correct terms are *Ainu-monka-enupuru kamui*, which may mean 'mysteriously made without blemish', or 'besought' (*chiniuk*) *kamui*. The first to be described is so superior to all others in holiness and general authority that in this region it is esteemed as an 'important' (*pase*) *kamui*. This is Chisei-koro Kamui, House-possessing

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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EFFIGIES

Deity.[1] It is made of lilac (*pungau*), which is highly esteemed for its resistance to decay. As it is believed to be mysteriously linked with the life of the house-owner, any accidental injury or tendency to rot would be ominous, a sure sign that evil spirits are at work, and in such a case it is given ritual dismissal and a new one is substituted.[2] Even when it has been recently made and introduced to Kamui Fuchi, a bad dream or other presage of evil always causes its removal, with purifying (*epiru*) rites, and its replacement by a fresh one.

The following is a description of the making of Chisei-koro Kamui; that for other hand-made *kamui* is similar but shorter. First, Kamui Fuchi is asked for approval and good influence, and a backward-shaven *inau* is erected on the hearth. Then Nusa-koro Kamui and Shiramba Kamui are invoked, the latter at his soul *nusa*, and an *inau* of the same kind is given to each of them. The prayer to Shiramba Kamui includes an entreaty that his *ramat* may be imparted to the future *kamui*, which, when made, becomes a special receptacle for it. The making takes place at a spot between the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui and that of Shiramba Kamui. A staff is cut from the straight stem of the tree, never from a branch. Pl. VII, fig. 1, shows the body, pointed at the foot, with the belly shaven flat and the top cut level. There is a mouth slit at the top cut at a very slight angle, almost the same as that on the backward-shaven *inau* for Kinashut Kamui. There is a circlet of twisted shavings round the neck for the attachment of his dress of curled shavings, and a belt of the same. The latter is needed to fasten the heart to the body. The heart in this case, and that of several *shutu-inau kamui*, is represented by a live ember (*usat*) still flaming from the hearth. After a petition to Kamui Fuchi it is, in this district, put into a large cup of water, carried out through the sacred window, and attached at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Then the costume of shavings is attached, and, with the unusually tall backward-shaven *inau* which is given to him, he presents quite a regal aspect (Pl. VII, fig. 2). I am told that in some districts instead of the *inau* he has a spear made of mugwort such as was carried by

[1] See Chapter III, p. 30, footnote 1

[2] Every wooden hand-made *kamui* is 'sent away' (given ritual dismissal) at the soul *nusa* because it is believed to belong to the family whose chief is Shiramba Kamui. So are wooden implements such as pestles and mortars when these are worn out or broken.—H.W.

EFFIGIES

778 776 ●532 773 A-e-oina Kamui who taught the Ainu to make this *kamui*. Entering by the sacred window he is introduced to Kamui Fuchi, who is begged to consult him as deputy for Shiramba Kamui.

It has been stated that he is the husband of Kamui Fuchi. Such a surmise might be prompted by the fact that his heart came hot from her hearth, but all the elders whom I questioned emphatically denied it. There is an idea that Shiramba Kamui is her father, and this, though vague, makes the suggestion of such a relationship repugnant. As to the evidence of the heart, not only is the charred wood the gift of Shiramba Kamui, but it also refers to the original method of fire-production. Further, the same argument would apply to two other hand-made *kamui* of the winged type, whose hearts are also live embers from the fire.

778 776 532 [789] [171] Chisei-koro Kamui is ensconced in the sacred north-east corner till the time comes for his ritual dismissal,[1] or taking flight (*hopun-ire*). Till then it is very rare for him to be moved from his place by the corner-post. It is said in old tales that when a nearby conflagration threatened the house, he, as deputy for Shiramba Kamui, was taken to the ridge of the roof to ward it off. A similar expedient is still employed in Japan.

[764] Formerly when the householder died this effigy was taken to the soul *nusa* and dismantled with due ceremony and a parting gift of *inau*. Some Ainu now think it better to retain the old and experienced *kamui* than to make a new one.

778 776 552 532 In prayer he is called Kenru-sopa a-a-Kamui in reference to his position in the house. *Kenru* is the old name for a house, *sopa* indicates the north-east corner, and *chisei* means a dwelling, of men or animals including a burrow or a wasps' nest. Among other titles he is known as House-protecting (Chisei-epungine) Kamui or Ekashi. He is also called Makta, Makwa, or Makna Kamui;[2] these may mean that he is ancient or that in his corner he is far (from Kamui Fuchi). His most significant title is House-root-sustaining (Kenru-shut-amba) Kamui. Rennuikesh told me that at his and other villages in the north there is no separate effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui, but that curled shavings are tied round the corner-post about two feet from the ground, with an old Japanese sword-

532 778 776 184 [796]

[1] There are three types of ritual dismissal, of which *kamui iomande*, for the bear, is the most honourable. It is not quite clear what is the functional difference between *hopun-ire* and the third type—*iwakte*.—B.Z.S.

[2] *Makta* means distant, *makan* and *makun* mean behind or ancient (Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 105).—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1906-1942) 1963
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guard attached to represent a heart. At Pihoro, I was told, the heart of this *kamui* is taken from the hearth.

Chisei-koro Kamui receives every consideration as the representative of Shiramba Kamui; he is formally saluted by every male visitor who enters the house, and on festal occasions is worshipped with prayer and libations oftener than are the *kamui* outside. He is also supplicated in time of trouble, but always after Kamui Fuchi, and less than Nusa-koro Kamui whose soul *nusa* also permits direct appeal to Shiramba Kamui. He is, it seems, chiefly responsible for the house and its contents, which are considered to be gifts from Shiramba Kamui, and is what he is described as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi on his first introduction, the House-head-protecting Personal Kamui (Kenru-sopa-kopunkine-kunni). At Nibutani he is revered as a *pase kamui*.

Shutu Inau Kamui

As noted previously the *shutu inau* have been described as winged *inau*, but in order to make the distinction clear the word *shutu* has been retained for the *shutu inau kamui*. The absence of wings on Chisei-koro Kamui is all that distinguishes him from hand-made *kamui* of winged *inau* form. These *kamui* differ from the less potent winged *inau* chiefly in that they wear a garment of curled shavings on their shoulders. *Inau* as such have only one tassel, if any; the double tassel is what distinguishes the winged *inau kamui* from them. These *kamui* are mostly male, and as a rule are armed with a spear or sword of mugwort. Conserving *ramat* obtained from the important *kamui*, and being armed, these *kamui* are more powerful than *inau*, and able to defeat the evil spirits which the Ainu regard as responsible for most of their misfortunes. Though representing to some extent the important *kamui* they are believed to act independently, and therefore arouse feelings of awe which increase in proportion to belief in their powers.

There is a rite to thank all *kamui* for their help and send them home when their presence is no longer needed—a form of honourable leave-taking. This will be called 'ritual dismissal'. The most reverent of all dismissals is that performed at the ceremonial killing of the sacred bear, and is called *kamui iomande*. That for Chisei-koro Kamui and most other *kamui*, including those which have only a temporary function, is called rising up to the sky (*hopun-ire*), and is a reward for defeating the evil spirits. First there should be

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778 776 782 796 a thankful prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with the usual burnt offering of a backward-shaven *inau*. Then from four to six bunches of curled shavings are affixed to the *kamui*, and four fresh small-winged *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa* with an outspread-shaven *inau* between each pair. The *kamui* is taken out by the sacred window, receives due thanks, and is gently dismantled at the *nusa*. The *inau* body is erected next to the outspread-shaven *inau*, with its face to the east. Praise and thanks are again given to it and to the important *kamui*. Sometimes an extra offering is made, of a yeasty substance (*kamdachi*) and the kind of millet (*piyaba*) usually used [273] for brewing. When the sacred beer was available, libations of it might be poured, but the yeast and millet were given so that the *kamui* might, if they so desired, brew for themselves.

[755] If a hand-made *kamui* has proved inefficient, that is if after it has been invoked to cure sickness the case becomes hopeless, the [761] *kamui* is dismissed, and if a sudden death occurs is dismissed immediately. In such cases the ritual is curtailed, a scanty allowance of two curled *inau* is enough, without fresh *inau* at the *nusa*. [763] Sometimes, however, when the life of a comatose patient seemed to be needlessly prolonged by the help of the *kamui*, it was given ritual dismissal without reducing the reward, so that the dying person might have a happy release. It is also said that an aged man or woman lingering hopelessly ill would request ritual dismissal for the *kamui* to whom appeal for help had been made. In such a case full honours were accorded.

778 776 ●532 There are three brothers who have similar effigies (Pl. VII, fig. 3). The most commonly invoked is the Protector of Vigour and Welfare (*Seremak kopungine shutu-inau Kamui*). He has the conventional mouth of the winged *inau*, a flattened belly, nine wings, two sets of curled shavings and a sword and spear of mugwort. The second, One who Rears or Trains (*Urespa*), is specially concerned with the health of children, but is seldom invoked except in the case of a long illness. The third, Achievement or Success (*Usapki*), whom I have never seen, was formerly invoked for success in hunting and fishing.

[824] The remaining *kamui* of this type differ mostly in the material used. For additional defence of the doorway the same kind of effigy is made either of elder or of *Maackia amurensis* (*chikube-ni*) the bast of which has an odour which is curiously repugnant to some people and is believed to repel evil spirits. Another *shutu*

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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inau kamui credited with an effective odour is made of the bird cherry (*kikin-ni*) and is called Nursing (Ikaruye) Kamui. It is still sometimes employed in fevers and is placed by the bedside while an infusion of the bark is administered to the patient.

Plate VII, fig. 4, shows Chikube-ni Kamui. He is of lighter make than most others because he is used to drive away evil spirits from the young bear in its last 'running round' before its ceremonial death. He is also attached to the cage of a bear cub which is being reared for the ceremony. He is carried round an intended house-site in a rite of purification performed when evil spirits are believed to lurk there. Among other of his tasks the most socially important is defence of the village against spirits bringing epidemic disease. Then he is called Kotan-Kikikara Kamui, but this name is also given to Kinashut Kamui, whose effigy of curled shaving (Pl. IV, fig. 2) is even more potent. Either may be installed a short distance from the village at each end and where a road enters. But the *shutu inau kamui* is said locally to be more for general protection or for such milder diseases as measles, whooping cough or influenza; for smallpox or a severe epidemic of typhoid Kinashut Kamui is invoked. However, neither of them is invoked once a severe epidemic has broken out in the village.

The bodies of several *shutu inau kamui* are made of elder. One of them, Soko-ni Fuchi (Pl. VII, fig. 5) is invoked in difficult childbirth to aid Uari Kamui, deputy of Kamui Fuchi, should one of willow be insufficient.

Another *shutu inau kamui* is Ramat-tak Kamui, so called because it can bring back the *ramat* which has wandered too far from a person's body. It is rarely used but is invoked when a patient is unconscious from a sudden seizure and is thought to be virtually dead. The elder-tree body of this *kamui* is formed like that of other *shutu inau kamui*, with one difference: the heart is taken not from the hearth but from the earthen floor, a pinch from each side of the entrance, where the posts of the two Apa-sam Kamui guard the house from intrusion by evil spirits.

The body (*netoba*), without curled shavings, is made near the hearth after prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with a backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes, and is then erected on the hearth, at the end facing the doorway. Next, a fairly long prayer is made to the *kamui* on the left of the doorway (the right on entering) in which the petitioner is called 'grandchild', as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi. In

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this and in the shorter prayer to the *kamui* on the other side they are both addressed as ancestors. Then the earth is bound to the body with curled shavings, the tassels are adjusted, the doorway deities are thanked, and Kamui Fuchi is again asked for help. Then the effigy is set up beside the unconscious patient. My informant, Nisukrek-guru, has told me of instances in which elders achieved resuscitation by this means, and he had seen it work when other methods had failed.

If Ramat-tak Kamui is successful it is brought to the hearth; four to six bunches of curled shavings are attached to it; it is again stuck in the lower hearth; Kamui Fuchi is thanked, and it is taken out by the door, not by the sacred window like other *shutu inau kamui*. In this respect it shares a procedure common to the worship of Nusa-koro Kamui and of the ancestral spirits on festive occasions. No *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa*, but it is brought to the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui, thanked and dismantled. Should it fail, it gets only two bunches of curled shavings, is not taken again to the hearth, and is dismissed with scant ceremony.

Ai-ush-ni Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 6) is a *shutu inau kamui* whose body is made of a thorny tree (*Acanthopanax ricinifolium*). Though a formidable looking warrior, he is not much employed; in fact, the only evil spirit whom, to my knowledge, he is engaged to fight, is Pauchi Kamui, and then only for stomach-ache. The effigy is set up near the sufferer, and water in which the chopped root of the tree has been boiled is taken frequently. That it is employed against stomach-ache may explain why the belly of the effigy is not flattened by shaving, as is usually done with these effigies. Another variety of this *kamui* is employed solely to drive out evil at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Known as Ika-kik (Driving-out-evil) Kamui, it has only an ephemeral existence and has therefore no curled shavings. It has the usual nine wings, a headband and a belt. But, instead of a spear and sword, it has a club of the same thorny wood hung from the headband. The patient is brought to the *nusa*, prayer is offered, and the club is used to beat the air round the patient. I have not seen this, but am told that it is sufficient to drive the evil Pauchi away.

The making of two kinds of *shutu inau kamui* is believed to involve risk to the maker. This is explained by the uncertainty of their disposition; they may take umbrage at any slight or inadvertent lack of reverence. But the cause of the dread lies deeper,

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and it is extended to all objects which, when no longer required, are given ritual dismissal. One is Imosh Kamui, who awakens from death those who are stricken to insensibility by a head injury or from loss of blood, and fall apparently dead in the home. He is not invoked when a patient who has been suffering from severe illness becomes unconscious. He is more powerful than Ramat-tak Kamui and is more dreaded. Several elders told me of an old saying that one who makes Imosh Kamui cannot expect to live long, or runs a risk of losing his life. I persuaded Uesanash to make the specimen seen in Pl. VII, fig. 7, but as soon as I had photographed it he gave it ritual dismissal. In Pl. VIII, fig. 1, the old man of seventy-four years is seen praying in the snow at the *nusa* he had set up for the occasion, with all the highest offerings that can be given to any *kamui*, i.e., four winged *inau* for the ancestral spirits, one backward-shaven *inau* and one outspread shaven *inau*. Whether it was that he performed the ritual dismissal at an extemporized *nusa*, or, in my garden, an unsanctified spot, or whether he had invoked the *kamui* without necessity, the next day this lame old man fell in the privy and was laid up with an injured leg. That an elder should accept this accident as a punishment from the spirit of the privy (Ru-koro Kamui), for some ritual error, is evidence of the intensity of Ainu belief in spirit power.

The effigy of Imosh Kamui should be made at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui after petition to the three 'important' *kamui* already mentioned. There are two slightly different forms of his effigy. That made by Nisukrek Guru has legs of willow, tassels at the ends of the arms, and a high headband. The other, made by Uesanash Ekashi is more robed with shavings, and has no tassels at the ends of the arms. Both forms have a heart made from an ember, as described above. One authority says that there should be four pulses of charcoal, one on each arm and leg, but I have not seen this. Should an accident occur in the hills, and Imosh Kamui be required at once to restore the victim to life, Shiramba Kamui must be asked to grant permission, and the effigy may then be given a substitute heart of earth. Imosh Kamui is given ritual dismissal with full honours at the *inau* fence for Nusa-koro Kamui whether he has been successful or not.

According to tradition, when A-e-oina Kamui was in danger of being overcome in a fight, or, as in one version, had been actually killed, his immortal spirit invoked Imosh Kamui from Rikun

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Kando, his place in the sky. Then, revived and reinforced by the united powers of *ramat* and mugwort, the god vanquished all his enemies.

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Another effigy made of mugwort resembles a cross in that the two legs are not formed. It is not usually called a *kamui* but *ifuna-rep*, a searching thing. It can be made anywhere without ceremony and has no curled shavings, but a heart of earth is bound to it with grass. It is used to find lost objects such as a knife dropped in the woods, and is said to be very successful.

[776]

A *shutu inau kamui* of elder wood, similar to Ramat-tak Kamui, is called Ifunara Kamui and is employed in the home with the usual ceremonies to find people lost in the wilds. I have been told of adults and children who were found owing to the guidance given by this *kamui*.

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The group shown in Pl. VIII, fig. 4, was made for me by Rennuikesh at my urgent solicitation. The man is called Penup Tono, Chief Penup and the bird Penup Chikap, Bird Penup. Together they are known as Penup Kamui, a most formidable combination. A kind of swallow-wort (a *cynanchum*) is known as *penup* in the north, where alone, so far as I know, the *kamui* takes this form. Swallow-wort is a powerful drug and has a reputation for intrinsic magical power; here it is called *ikema*. Just after Rennuikesh had made the Penup Kamui for me and I had photographed it, the son of my house servant became very ill from cellulitis of the neck. A woman medium, who had no doubt heard of what we had been doing, pronounced the sickness due to the indignation of Ikema Kamui, and an elder was sent to my house to perform the rite of exorcism. I knew nothing of this until I had operated and the child was recovering. Being afraid that this incident might interfere with my study of Ainu culture I called the elder who, though most friendly to me, was positive that I was partly responsible for the illness. The truth was that Rennuikesh had been so much afraid to use swallow-wort in the making of these figures that I had allowed him to use another root of similar appearance. Later, in the house where he was staying, Rennuikesh performed a regular worship for five *pase kamui* with the correct prayers and libations. It is typical of the genuineness of his beliefs and the kindness of his character that he did this for the benefit of his host and his family, but that he did not mention it to me. I heard of it later from his host.

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When I told the officiating elder that swallow-wort had not been 776
used he brightened up and said that the child could recover. He 123
honestly believed that had the *kamui* been summoned for so 532 ●
frivolous a purpose as photography, nothing that I could do would
save the boy. This incident turned out happily, for it was the grati-
tude of the boy's mother which led her to reveal the secret of the
women's girdles, to which we shall come later.

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Rennuikesh told me that in the north Penup Kamui is seldom 776
made, and then usually as a last resort in the face of approaching 789
pestilence. If the danger is still some distance away the two *kamui* 782
on the hearth are petitioned, and usually six *inau* of elder are set up. [184]
These resemble small winged *inau* but have no curled shavings.
They are called abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. Each set has a chief made
of *chikube-ni* at each end, the chiefs being male and female winged
inau. They correspond to the two *kamui* of the hearth, the male
being on the east side and the female on the west.

If these prove unavailing Penup Kamui comes on the scene. [824]
Should the epidemic stop short of the village or do little harm the
figures are taken to the *ekashi nusa*, thanked, broken up, mixed
with millet and the yeasty substance, and left to rot. Pl. VIII,
fig. 2, shows Rennuikesh, who had wrapped up Penup Kamui and
removed it to a safe distance, performing the last salutation before
taking the figures to pieces. The Penup figures are composite; the
head and body of the man should be of swallow-wort and the arms,
legs and spear of mugwort. The head and body of the bird are
also of swallow-wort and the neck, legs, wings and tail of mugwort.
Rennuikesh felt no compunction in using mugwort, but to use
swallow-wort for the body of a *kamui* without real need was to risk
resentment and serious trouble.

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In Sakhalin a human image called *nipopo* is carved in wood and 532
is wrapped in an *inau* with body cut short. It is made for wealth,
good luck and the protection of babies, and, lest its powers fail,
it is kept in a box and shown to nobody.

778
What little I can say of the cult of natural objects may find a 823
place here. A mountain or hill near a village usually received liba- [782]
tions of beer with prayer at festivals. Some hills have specially
sacred associations, and so have certain narrow valleys. Though
the legends concerning them present them as abodes of spirits
or fabulous beings rather than as reservoirs of *ramat*, one
cannot assert that sacred mountains are merely backgrounds for

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HEARTH AND HOME

workmanship, real achievements when one considers that they were knife-worked.

The *ikoro* have a value which at first sight seems fantastic. Objects that look like toy swords and imitation quivers, often strips and tablets of wood, pass for precious things. Among them, it is true, are iron swords, of which every man is supposed to possess at least one. The scabbards are often profusely decorated, some with Ainu and others with Japanese carving, and some have metal fittings. These swords are kept for ceremonial use. They are brandished in the processional dance to drive away evil spirits, which is held when there has been a death by drowning or other fatal accident, or when a house has been burnt down. They are also used in exorcisms for disease and in mimetic and other dances. They are credited with great potency, and by some elders are regarded as *kamui*. Both they and the imitation swords usually have a broad sash attached wherewith they are hung over the shoulder.

Imitation swords have either a solid scabbard or a short wooden blade. They are often adorned with small patches of tinsel or foil. Many of the sword and quiver *ikoro* are old, and age adds value even to articles of poor quality. They are believed to intensify luck in hunting, whereby more *ikoro* are obtained by barter of skins. This luck waned if they were seen by others, though the owner could gloat over them without much risk. Hence the most precious, *ikoro ikeu*, were also known as *mokoro* (sleeping) *ikoro*. Various reasons for this secrecy are alleged, such as fear of envy and dislike of ostentation, but ideas of magic are probably strong. In legends, the possessor of many *ikoro* adorned with tinsel was a *nishpa* (from *nish*, sky, and *pa*, above, chief). Imitation quivers had designs of sun, moon and stars carved or inlaid, and were then called *tombe*, shining things. The quiver, by the way, was feminine.

No. 12 on the plan of the house indicates the place for clothes and things under feminine control, including some things prepared for the dead. The husband and wife sleep at 13 and the children at 14. At G is the southern shining window (*itom puyara*), and at H the small window (*pon puyara*), near which dishes and other things are washed. Everyone has a bowl for personal use, and it is customary to clean it with the index finger, which is called the bowl-licking finger (*itangi-kem-ashki-pet*) or, for short, licking-thing (*kembe*).

Most of the southern part of the room was unoccupied except by

796 769 782 keep their places and put their offerings of beer and food on the ground in front of the *inau*. When all have finished, the women make their ritual salutations and the utensils are brought back into the house, but the two mats are left, presumably to allow the effects of spirit contagion to evaporate. The *inau* are never removed, but the remains of the food are carefully collected and divided among [789] all those in the room. The reason given is that the *kamui* have [776] imparted good magic to the offerings made to them, so that eating them ensures health and longevity.

[184] At Shimokibo near Shizunai the officiating elder gives a backward-shaven *inau* to each of the women in addition to the four set up by himself. Each woman plants her *inau* and calls upon an ancestress by name. This departure from the general custom is curious.

The Festivities

769 574 782 With the completion of the worship the scene changes from almost church-like solemnity to unrestrained gaiety, carried by most of the elders beyond the limit of sobriety. But the ritual is not quite over; while people are clearing up inside and preparing for a [776] good time, Mintara-koro Kamui, the guardian of the yard, is given a little of the dry lees moistened with beer, thanked for having performed his duties and requested to continue doing so as desired by Kamui Fuchi. This is usually, if not always, done and I am told that sometimes Ru-koro Kamui, the deity of the privy, is rewarded in the same way.

There is an interval of half an hour or more between the main services and the wassail (*shi-iku*). Guests who leave without intending to return salute Chisei-koro Kamui, the householder and Kamui [778] Fuchi, and all present do the same.

● [532] The sacred mat, which, after the service, had been brought in carefully and folded and taken to the place of the treasures, is again placed at the head of the hearth, and the vessel of beer is removed to a position near the sacred window and filled to the brim. The 769 householder, or whoever is master of the ceremonies, sits in his 574 place. An elder is called to the hearth, not by name, as has already 782 been remarked, but as the father of so-and-so. This elder through- 887 out the remainder of the festivity acts as controller of the drinking (*sake-iush guru*, the person beside the liquor). He occupies a responsible position, not only as guardian of the divine liquor but as

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 broken or severely damaged before leaving the house; the others are now broken before being placed in the grave.

766 When a pregnant woman died, before the grave was filled in an
843 elder or an old woman performed a rite called *uko-ni-charapa* (to-
[184] gether opening out). The abdomen was cut with a sickle to allow the soul of the infant to escape. In the north, I am reliably informed, it was pierced with a needle.

695 Before the Meiji Era, a suspected murderer was confronted with the body of his alleged victim in the open grave, and after an adjuration to the dead was compelled to undergo trial by ordeal, dipping his hand six times into boiling water. Other tests are said to have been drinking an infusion of tobacco or six large cups of plain water. Should there be no scalding or vomiting, the accused was acquitted.

764 For aged Ainu it is still customary to line the grave with matting,
178 even when a coffin is used. The upper edge of the matting is detached and folded over the coffin as the mat is, or was, over the body. Relatives, the nearest of kin first, take a handful of the earth dug from the grave and drop it in, and the other mourners then do the same. This is called *toi-toi a uko-chupo*, in this district (earth earth thus together replacing).

After this rite the grave is covered. At Shiraoi, in the second decade of this century, I saw a grave lined with matting with a sort of roof. The carrying-pole laid along the top served as a ridge-pole, and boards connecting it with the sides enclosed the grave, which was then covered with earth.

764 When the grave has been covered the stake which was driven into the bottom soil to make a hole for the insertion of the grave-post is removed, and the latter is set up. Then follows the purification of the grave from evil spirits or their malign influence, *toi-a epiru*. This is done by brushing with switches, but to make assurance doubly sure the magically potent *ikema* root, cut into small pieces, is thrown over the grave from near the grave-post. In other circumstances it is often chewed and spat out, the force of expulsion adding to its efficacy, but it would be dangerous to spit over the dead.

[789] [783]

764 778 *The Ritual of the Grave-post*

[184] [532] Learned elders regard the grave-post (*kuwa*) as an ancestral *shutu inau*. Formerly, in the north, posts up to a foot in diameter with

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elaborate carving were set up for notables. In Nibutani some posts six to eight inches in diameter may be seen, but generally they are not more than three or four inches in diameter and about five feet high. In most districts the top of the post for men is pointed like a spear, with a bevelled edge; that for women has a flat circular top with a perforation to which three bands of black cloth are attached. These may be sexual symbols. All posts have a lacing cord wound round them.

The posts for both sexes have black rings round them, and there are black markings in the slit cut in the top of the post for males.[1] These markings are made with live embers from the hearth. Kamui Fuchi is besought to endow Irura Kamui (Guide Kamui) whom she has deputed to act on her behalf, with *ramat* to guide the deceased to the ancestors.

Another prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui at the stream where water is drawn to fill the vessel carried in front of the body on the way to the grave. An elder asks for special *ramat* to accompany and guide the deceased. I have heard the title Irura Kamui applied to Wakka-ush Kamui. Small streams supplying domestic water are regarded as feminine and in this aspect water given by Wakka-ush Kamui is *nupuru tope a e-urespa* (mysterious together up-raising milk).

This water is used in two rites. First some of it is poured out on the earth contained in the two food-bowls which have been placed at the foot of the post. The lid of the lacquered vessel is then crushed on top of the post so that the encircling rim falls to the ground; the rest of the water is poured over the post, and the empty vessel is lifted with both hands, inverted over the post, and suddenly forced down so that it lies with the rim of the lid round the post.

By this ritual the grave-post is permeated with *ramat* and is regarded as Irura Kamui, and the *ramat* of the broken vessel is free to serve the spirit of the dead. Irura Kamui is supposed to see the soul safely off on its journey, to guide it on its way, and to guard it against interference from, or temptation by, evil spirits. The ritual is designated by a phrase only used in service to the dead—*wakka-eshit tomte* (well prepared).

[1] In some districts the mark is made with charcoal from an elder tree, which was often used as a charm against evil spirits. It is said that without the mark the soul cannot go safely to the place of the ancestral spirits (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, pp. 161–2, Sapporo, 1945).—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

292 Badges were attached to the front of these headdresses, that of the
301 bear being the most common. Others seen by Munro early in this century were those of the fox, eagle, falcon and grampus. Mr Watanabe states that at every Bear Ceremony new shavings were added to the headdress, each bunch contributing to the value of the whole. These headdresses were handed down from father to son.

778 For the celebration of the *pase ongami* of Metot-ush Kamui (one
782 name for the bear *kamui*) in the House-Warming Ceremony, the
422 winged libation wand with the ancestral mark of the householder is used. (See Chapter VII.) *Itokpa* are also cut on the winged libation wand used in connection with the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. Reference has been made in Chapter X to the *ekashi itokpa* cut on sticks carried by hunters, which served to identify their owners
184 should they become lost.

114 Munro worked in the Saru district as the Ainu there were less
778 influenced by the Japanese way of life than in the northern dis-
782 tricts. However, he considered that the northerners had retained
422 some features of Ainu culture that were not present in the Saru
532 district, and therefore he invited Rennuikesh Ekashi, whom he
[115] regarded as the most reliable elder in the north, to stay with him at Nibutani. Rennuikesh cut for him the signs used on certain *inau*
[769] stems, shown in Pl. V. These were not used in the south, and it would seem that Rennuikesh did not know, or did not emphasize, that they were connected with the ancestor cult. However, Pl. IX, fig. 8, shows an *inau* with an *itokpa* cut on its stem. It is dedicated to Iworo-koro Ekashi. This epithet, which refers to Kim-un Kamui, the Bear God, may be translated 'Hunting-rights Territory-owning Ancestor'. Munro states that the title also applied to the wolf. This *inau* was only made in the north. Rennuikesh stated that there was also a sign composed of two deep curved cuts which represented a winding valley between two mountain crests; several elders claimed this as a special sign for their own village. Munro says: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent.' I will return to this later.

614 It has been noted in Chapter VII that men having the same
301 badge worship together at the *pase ongami* and recognize mutual
796 obligations. (See also Chapter VII, footnote on p. 85.) Those who
[601] join in worship of Metot-ush Kamui address one another by kinship terms.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Reference must be made to the secret worship on the occasion of the *pase ongami*. At Nibutani it was performed under the auspices of Metot-ush Kamui, and Munro states that at least four other *kamui* were worshipped on this occasion. One informant told him that the *kamui* he worshipped had been revered in his patrilineage for fourteen generations. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the different *ekashi-ikir* taking part in it. Mr Kubodera states that the *kamui* for whom *pase ongami* is performed differ in every patrilineage, and that they are so sacred that they are never mentioned outside the lineage. These observations of Mr Kubodera give significance to Munro's statement (Chapter III, pp. 37–8) concerning the use of the *ekashi itokpa* in the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. 'A male ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*) is incised on the outspread shaven *inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui. . . . Two more of the same kind are placed where the head of the bear is displayed.' Thus, a link is suggested between the ancestry of the bear cub killed and the patrilineage of the elder who has reared the cub and carries out its ritual dismissal.

The importance of the bear deity cannot be over-emphasized; bear meat was the most esteemed food. The Bear Ceremony—actually the ritual killing of a god—was a highly important rite performed in every *kotan*. A cub was captured, and treated with great respect until it had grown old enough for its ritual dismissal. Munro witnessed this ceremony many times, and it is most unfortunate that his description of it should have been lost. The bear cub has been treated with the respect due to a god since the time of its capture; it is believed to appreciate its ceremonial death, and so to be ready for its *ramat* to reincarnate in another bear who will also be caught, worshipped and killed in the locality, thus providing the same patrilineage with food.

Kotan has been translated 'village' when the local settlement only is indicated, but it is clear that the word had a wider meaning in former times, and, as will be seen, still has in some contexts at the present day. According to Munro (Chapter II, p. 22) the cult of the eagle owl, known as Kotan-koro Kamui (Village-Owning Kamui) is prevalent in all localities, with 'varying importance'. He is sometimes referred to as Kotan-koro chikap ekashi Kamui (Village-Owning Divine Ancestor). At Mokoto in the north he is given special honour on festive occasions. At Nibutani, however, he was given a small offering compared with that of other *kamui*

9: Lavrov--1 E-5 (1945, 1947) 1949 AB6 Ainu AB6
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The exceptional ornamental richness of the representative art of the peoples inhabiting the basin of the Amur river and Sakhalin Island, the variety and perfection of their traditional methods of artistic workmanship in wood, birch-bark, bone, fish skins, furs and threads have, on innumerable occasions, attracted the attention of students of Siberia and the Far East. Unified in their general features while infinitely varied in the execution of details, the arts of the Nanai (Goldi), the Nivkhi (Gilyak), the Ulchi, the Orochi, the Ainu, and of other peoples are distinguished by the perfection of method and the stability of form, which bear witness to the continuity of the representative themes and the ornamental motives that provide the basis for the decorative compositions. Description and representation of ornamentation in the dress, household utensils, boats, houses, and grave monuments are to be found in the works of Schrenk (1) Laufer, Shternberg, (2) Lopatin, (3) and also the investigations

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1. L. Schrenk. Die Völker des Amur-Landes, St. Petersburg, 1903.

2. L. Y. Shternberg, Aĭnskaîa Problema (The Ainu Problem). Sbornik Muzeîa Antropologii i Etnografii, Vol. VIII, 1929.

3. I. Lopatin. Goldy, Vladivostok, 1922.

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by Ivanov (4) of the religious and secular plastic art and orna-

4. S.S.V. Ivanov. Ornamentika i obriady, svîazannye s Amurskoĭ lodkoĭ (The Ornamentation and Ritual connected with the Amur Boat).

9: Lavrov--2 E-5 (1945, 1947) 1949 AB6 Ainu AB6
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Sovetskaia Etnografiia, 1935, No. 4-5; Medved' v iskusstve narodnostei Amura (The Bear in the Art of the Amur Peoples). Sbornik V.G. Bogoras, 1937.

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mentation of the Amur peoples. Thanks to the work of the above mentioned authors one can form a fairly accurate idea about the stylistic and thematic originality of this remarkable centre of popular decorative art, which forms a link in the chain that extends from the south to the north-east of the Pacific ocean and which, in the past, may have connected the neolithic cultures of Asia with the ancient peoples of the extreme end of the north-east and north-west of America. If there are still many unclear and debatable links in that chain, one may hope, that the increasing scope of work of the North-eastern Expedition of the Amur Peoples of the USSR will help to untie the complex knot of ethnic and historical relationships in the Amur basin and on the North-eastern shore of the Pacific Ocean. Having been twice a participant in the work of the expedition - on the Chikotka in 1945 and in the Lower reaches of the Amur and in the South Sakhalin in 1947--and as a member of the Institute of Art Industries I had the task of investigating the forgotten and the presently existing artistic crafts and of taking measures for their re-juvenation and development. At the same time, I /33/ studied the problems of style, genesis, development and of the spread of the ornamental forms.

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The Amur-Sakhalin expedition collected a considerable amount of material dealing with the representative art of the Nanai, the Ulchi, the Nivkhi, the Orochi and the Ainu peoples. In the present report I will describe only some typical forms of the Nivkhi and the Ainu ornamentation and of their religious and secular sculpture, in order to throw a new light on the questions of the origin of the "Gilyak Bear Vessels," and on the band and string ornamentation in the Ainu Bear sculpture.

G /34 cont./
532 it is interesting to compare the shape of the bear vessels with
825 the ritual vessels, used by the Nivkhi for "feeding the sea."
The latter type (which in our opinion, is more archaic) in the
main also consists of vessels in the shape of a bird, sometimes
complicated by symbolic decoration (vessels with two bird
A heads with long interwoven necks, etc.).
172 The expedition also gathered valuable, and by now
• 532 "archeologic" in their origin, collections of the items of the
825 Ainu art: The compulsory Japanization of the Ainu shows it-
[177] self strikingly in the loss by this people of their own national
culture, so that we did not find anything characteristically
Ainu in their homes, dresses, and household utensils. It was
only in the neighborhood of the Ainu settlements, at the old
worship places--inau-kah--that we found ancient Ainu utensils
and objects used in religious ceremonies and that had been
preserved in these places since the time when the Ainu cele-
brated the bear festival. Especially interesting findings were
made by us near the settlements of Niita and Sirokhan. Of
greatest interest among these findings are the sculptured
representations of bears, bears' heads and especially snake-like
representations with the head of the bear all dug out from
under the roots of trees, together with hard-to-recognize,
twisted and interwoven pieces of roots also ending in bears'
heads. The figures found were apparently wrapped up in
pieces of bear fur and tied up with strings of bast. /The re-
mainder of this article is in the Ainu Files only/. This is
evidenced by bits of hair adhering to representations and by
soft lumps of the remnants of string, in which the dug out
A figures lay. Some of the samples have fully preserved their
[115] dress (drawing 3, a). Our informer Sirokava (a 65 year old
[224] Ainu from the Sirokam settlement) told us that similar repre-
sentations were kept in every Ainu home, and that after a
successful hunt a new string was tied up to the bear's figure.
A /35 contains photographs./ /36/
532 All the representations are made of the larch roots, and
825 the craftsmen seem to have intentionally used various twist and

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532 825 interweavings of roots for an unknown set purpose. Only in relation to the representation of the head, the carvers exhibit a definite intention and great mastery in rendering the full likeness, and together with it a monumental generalization of the real appearance of a bear.

The collection of representations gathered by us (about 60 in number) can be divided into four groups:

1) Separate, realistically rendered bear heads (Drawing 3, b).

2) The most numerous representations, which render the general appearance of a bear (Drawing 3, v). The representations are all twisted in form: many of them either lack legs, or have the legs twisted in a grotesque way; others lack bodies so that the legs are connected directly with the head. In the same group may be included one paired representation of the bears sitting on their hind legs, with some incomprehensible additions made possibly for greater stability. (Drawing 3, g).

3) A small group of sculptural combinations representing heads and legs (Drawing 3, d)

4) A representation in the shape of a bear's head with several quaintly shaped representations made of interweaving roots. Among the latter is a piece of root with a tied up knot with separated edges carved up into heads. (Drawing 3, e, zh, z)

192 532 825 Sinokava gave all these representations the name of inoka. L. Y. Shternberg translates this Ainu word as snake, inoka-kamui meaning a divine snake. Inasmuch as among the inokas the representations of bears still prevail, one may suppose that the name "snake" was transferred by the Ainus to the wooden image of a bear. This hypothesis is in accord with the grotesque form of the "bears," which seem to have still preserved some of the appearance and attributes of the snakes. Evidently, in these inokas are combined the northern cult of the bear practices throughout Siberia with the cult of the snake brought by the Ainu from the south. (5) As of greater practical significance

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5. See L. Y. Shternberg. Aĭnskaĭa Problema (The Ainu

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problem). Sbornik, Khavarovsk, 1933, p. 571

under the conditions of life on Sakhalin island, the cult of the bear seems to prevail in these representations over the half-forgotten by the Ainu myth of the "divine snake."

Freed by the passage of time from the binding strings and the fur, the sculptural forms of the inoka are of exceptional interest, providing an opportunity of tracing the plastic metamorphosis of the mythical image of the snake into a realistic representation of the bear.

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Interesting samples for the comparison of the bear theme in the Nivkhi and Ainu carvings are provided by the ikunisi, the Ainu sticks--"usoderzhateli" (supporters). I shall first note an unusually great number of them, some 500 samples being known to us through the beautifully edited album and collections of the South-Sakhalin Museum. In the Ainu settlements we saw and in part acquired individual samples which have now become rarities. A distinguished craftsmanship in their execution, their richness of form, and a striking variety in their ornamentation made through the application of different methods of miniature-decorative carving, permit us to regard the ikunisi as real masterpieces of art.

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Worthy of note is the symbolic-pictographic carving of the ikunisi. The materials at our disposal show not only the themes resembling those known to us in the Nivkhi bear vessels, but also a variety of new compositions. /37/

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It is typical that on the ikunisi with the bear theme, the prevailing representations are not those of the entire figures of bears, but only their heads (one or several) generally placed in the string and band nooses which are interwoven (Drawings 4 and 5). On some of the sticks the interweaving was made not by carving but with real bast strings; on others the heads are shown on the right-angled platforms, and cups are placed before the bears' heads. It seems to us that these compositions with bears' heads present an early form of the bear cult (the

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532 worship of heads), practiced widely throughout Siberia, rather
825 than the locally limited and in its ideology more complex
171 "holiday of the bear" which is connected with the keeping of the bear in a wooden cage and with the ceremonial killing of the animal. If this hypothesis is correct, the bear themes on the Ainu sticks would seem to be more archaic in their content than the carving on the Nivkhi ladles.

532 The sculptured representation of a swallow (encountered
825 also on wooden scabbards) bound by a uniquely carved fence or ring, is no less a widespread theme of the ikunisi than that of the bear. (Drawing 6, b). Still more frequent are the representations of the swallow placed in string nooses and in the interweaving of bands (Drawing 6, a). In the variant of the latter type a bear's head is frequently represented with that of a swallow. The stability of this composition, and the well developed type of the fence-ring, as well as numerous variations with the string-band interweavings allow the inference that the origin of the swallow theme is independent of the analogous bear compositions. If that is so, one can hardly connect the origin of the string-band ornament with the bear theme alone. I may add here, that not only the swallow, but also the presence of the beaver and the seal in the ornamental interweavings on the ikunisi bear witness to a broader base of origin of the string and band motives.

532 Let us first attempt to discover the significance of the ikunisi. It is hardly probable that the original function of these sticks with the pictographic /38/ carving and symbolic ornamentation was to support one's moustache while drinking wine. Montandon (6) considers that the term "supporters" (usoderzhateli)

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6. G. Montandon, La civilisation Ainou. Paris, 1937.

used by the ethnographers describes the Ainu sticks only as objects of "contemporary toilet" of a person and does not

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532 explain their ritual significance. However, Montandon's calling them "sticks for libation" also does not reveal the original function of these mysterious objects.

532 224 211 171 It is interesting to compare the ikunisi with the pictographic drawings on wooden boards by the shore Chukchee and with the Eskimo carvings on objects made of bone. The Chukchee and the Eskimo use these objects - the former for the commemoration of the results of a successful hunt (representing the killed animals and the actual scenes from the hunt), the latter for "the invocation of the forces of Nature producing food." Were not the ikunisi also basically commemoration plaques on which were marked the number of animals killed in a hunt and the circumstances under which the killing was accomplished? It is typical that almost all "ikunisi" generally have simple notches (varying in number) cut in at the end of the sticks. Also encountered are sticks having only notches, with neither representations nor ornament on them.

532 In spite of the astonishing variety of the artistic variations, the Ainu ornamentation stubbornly preserves its original motives. The various phases of the artistic development of these motives help to trace out and discover their material and ideological base. The investigators who have studied the Ainu art have [114] various explanations of the content and origin of the Ainu ornamentation. In the works of Shurts, Laufer, Montandon, and especially in those of Shternberg one may come across interesting observations and hypotheses, although in some cases (Shurts and Montandon) these are not always well founded. Since in the present article I have no opportunity to analyse all the basic motives of the Ainu ornamentation described by these authors or discovered by us I shall dwell only on two, which in our opinion are most frequently encountered. Such basic motives are a string woven of bast or some other material and the twisting and interweaving snakes. (7) The motives developed on

[113] 7. The development of the form of the Ainu ornamentation from

•532 /38 cont./
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the snakes has been discovered and traced by L. Y. Shternberg, in Aĭnskaĭa problema (The Ainu Problem), Sbornik Muzeĭa Antropologii i Etnografii, Akademiia Nauk SSR, Vol. VIII, 1929.

these bases are so similar in their plastic qualities that one involuntarily wishes to recognize only one of the above mentioned bases as the original one and the motive connected with it as primary, and to call the other base a derivative from the first. However, a very essential difference in the bases themselves
[825] gives us no right to make such a generalization. The basis for the motive of the twisting and interweaving snakes is the religious concept of the divine essence of snakes, which is the imagination transformed reflection of the real struggle waged by men against snakes in southern latitudes. The string ornamentation develcped on the basis of practical activities of tying and untying. In the decorative compositions the two motives interpenetrate and, at times, are completely indistinguishable.

Varieties of interweaving, nooses, and skillfully tied knots of strings and bands (snakes) form the most widespread forms of the Ainu ornamentation. (Drawing 6, v, g, d). The string and band ornament is connected with the representations of animals, binding them with the surface of the decorated object. Breaking apart the ornament may get separated into a series of geometric figures or into a variety of curves.

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171 /39/ The Ainu undoubtedly hold the first place among the peoples of Siberia in the artistic quality of their miniature decorative carving. The masterly artistic execution of small surfaces of firm wood (far less frequently of bone and horn surfaces) is brought by the Ainu carvers to a point of virtuosity. The best illustration of this are the decorations on the ikunisi. The compositional variety of ornamental motives and of

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•532 representative themes on these sticks, embodying not only
171 some decorative elements prevailing on the Sakhalin and the Amur, but also those typical of the art of the hunters of the Arctic, makes it reasonable to suppose that the Ainu artistic culture, serving as a focal point for the convergence of the ancient ornamental traditions of many peoples, is the oldest centre of ornamental art in the north-east of Asia. There is no doubt that this centre exerted an influence on the neighboring peoples, and through them on the more distant cultures.

000 [Because of technical problems, HRAF was unable to reproduce the illustrations in this source for the English translation. Therefore, the researcher will have to refer to the foreign text for the illustrations themselves. For the convenience of the researcher the captions of the illustrations have been translated and are given below. The figure numbers and page numbers refer to the foreign text in Category 116.]

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171 Figure 1, page 33. "Bear ladle" from the village My (collected by the expedition). Nivkhi, Amur estuary.
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Figure 2, page 34. Fragment of a "bear ladle" representing the hide and head of a bear. From the village of My. Nivkhi, Amur estuary.

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172 Figure 3, page 35. Sculpture representations gathered at ancient places of worship. From the Ainu villages Niita and Sirokham.
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532 Figure 4, page 37. Fragment of an Ainu stick ikunisi representing a bear head.
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Figure 5, page 37. Ainu stick ikunisi with carved bear

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heads, wound by cords made of bark.

Figure 6, page 39.

Ainu sticks ikunisi: a) high relief carving (swallow and bear head); b) high relief carving (swallow chasing a whale, and swallow in enclosure); v) stick wound with cords made of bark; g) and d) carving imitating intertwining of cord. Reproductions from various sources.